

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

THE FORMOSAN UPRISINGS OF 1868

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO
THE FACULTY OF THE DIVISION OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCES
IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF ARTS

COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

BY
CHARLES HUTCHINSON PLETCHER

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

SEPTEMBER, 1949

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
Introduction	1
 Chapter	
I. FORMOSAN HISTORY TO 1868	4
Foreign Influences in Formosa up to the Nineteenth Century Nineteenth Century Formosa--a Land of Ship- wreck and Disaster Members of the Perry Expedition Visit Formosa The Wreck of the "Rover" Antagonism Between Incoming Foreign Elements and Local Chinese	
II. THE BACKGROUND OF 1868	14
III. THE BANKA AFFAIR	18
The Commercial Character of Northern Formosa The Extension of British Trade is Resisted at Banka	
IV. TROUBLE IN THE SOUTH	26
Tainan Becomes a Storm Center of Anti-Foreign Activity The Oppression of Missionaries and the Attack on Mr. Hardie Trouble Over the Camphor Trade Lord Charles Scott and Consul Gibson Confer with the Taiwan Taotai Consul Gibson's Attempts to Visit Pitow are Frustrated Two Incidents Provoke a Tense Situation The British Occupy Fort Zeelandia The Chinese Attempt to Fortify Anping The British Attack and Take Anping by Night, and Reach a Settlement with the Chinese	
V. GOVERNMENTAL HANDLING OF THE FORMOSA TROUBLES AS A PART OF BRITISH POLICY	47
The Course of Chinese - British Relations Expressions of British Governmental Policy The Presentation of the Formosa Troubles to Parliament Mr. Holt's Settlement as Part of British Govern- mental Policy	

Mr. Gibson's Settlement of the Uprising
in Southern Formosa and Its Contradiction of
Official British Policy Toward China

VI. FRONTIER ATTITUDES AND ACTIONS VERSUS OFFICIAL POLICIES.	56
---	----

The Frontier Nature of Formosa as an Influence
in British-Chinese Relations There
British Governmental Policy and Frontier Atti-
tudes
Conclusion

BIBLIOGRAPHY.	60
-----------------------	----

PREVIEW

INTRODUCTION

Of all the lands of the Far East, Formosa has, perhaps, received the least amount of attention from Western scholars. This seems strange as the island's geographic position on the flank of China, and in the disputed border region between the Japanese Empire on the north and the areas of Western domination to the south, has placed Formosa in the midst of the struggles for power and domination in the Far East. In addition, the island's geographic isolation from the mainland has tended to give it the character of a small unit, complete in itself, and not a part of some larger whole. Although technically part of the Chinese Empire, in the nineteenth century, its officials were allowed to do pretty much as they pleased. This small scale unity makes Formosa particularly useful to the study of the Far East, for it serves as a sample in which are represented most of the problems of the larger areas, but on a scale that makes comparatively easy their consideration individually, and as related to the rest of the social and historical picture.

Since Formosa's history is not common knowledge, I have presented, as a first part of this thesis, a brief summary of those aspects of it which I consider to be pertinent as a background to the anti-foreign uprisings of 1868. In this presentation I have tried to emphasize two influences which run parallel in all its history. One stems from the island's constant peripheral, and therefore ever-changing, position in relation to political power, which tended to breed an independence and lawlessness on the part of the inhabitants rather than directing them to fol-

low the political traditions of any one country, or allowing them to develop a political system of their own. Related to this, and also an influence toward looser ties with any one section of the mainland, was Formosa's position as a "melting pot" of peoples and cultures, mainly Eastern, but with a seasoning, from time to time, of European elements.

As might be imagined, the amount of source material available for use in determining what happened in 1868, on Formosa, is not overly large. By the use of all pertinent information which I could find in primary and secondary sources, I have attempted, in as much detail as possible, to reconstruct the events of that year. Although there is some conflict as to particular details, generally speaking the sources appear to agree rather well.

Fortunately for me, the members of the British Parliament did not restrain themselves when discussing those aspects of the Formosa troubles which were presented to them. In addition to these debates, the section of the thesis which presents British governmental policy toward China, and British official attitude toward the Formosa troubles as part of this policy, is based on various statements made by a new government which took over in London while the troubles were in the process of being settled. The Chinese mission led by Anson Burlingame was hot on its heels to get a statement of friendship and good feelings on the part of Great Britain for China. The second aspect of the uprisings of 1868 which I have examined, other than the affairs' position in and relation to the rest of Formosan history, concerns the actions of the British in Formosa as a part of Empire expansion. It is my contention, which I believe is demonstrated by the 1868 uprisings and the British actions taken to counter them, that British expansion depended upon a certain aggressive, but not flashy,

honest, but strictly British, attitude of common sense and stability at the outposts of the Empire; that this type of attitude and the men personifying it were the core of expansion and were recognized as such by the government at London, whether it was liberal and conciliatory or not; and that, as a result, approved frontier actions were frequently contrary to policy as expressed at the highest governmental level.

CHAPTER I

FORMOSAN HISTORY TO 1868

Foreign influences in Formosa to the nineteenth century.--

The most striking characteristic of the history of Formosa, and perhaps the most important influence in shaping its course has been the constant frontier position of the island. It has been on the periphery of every empire that extended into, or was part of the Far East. As such, the island has been the scene of continuous political turmoil and changing domination, and a record of its revolts against the particular government in power indicates that it was almost as notorious for social unrest as it was for its seismic disturbances.¹

¹Insurrections were a common thing in Formosa as can be seen from the following list of the twenty most important since the beginning of the Chinese rule:

- 1683--Chinese conquest of the island.
- 1696--Insurrection at Shinko in Tainan led by Go Chu (Go Kyu).
- 1701--Insurrection at Shora (Kagi), led by Liu Chow (Ryu Kyaku).
- 1721--Insurrection at Taiwan (Tainan) under Choo Yihkwei. Joined by rebels from Kagi, he threw island into tumult, made himself emperor and reigned for three years.
- 1731--Insurrection at Hozan under Woo Fuh-sig (Go Fukusei).
- 1738--Insurrection led by Hu Gwazen, Kyo Kokuchin, and Yang Wenlin.
- 1770--Insurrection at Hozan under Hong Chan (Okyo).
- 1786--Whole island a scene of wild revolt through insurrections at Kagi and Shoka, led by Lin Shoanwen and others; and by Choan Tah Tien at Tainan and Hozan.
- 1795--Insurrection under Chien Chu-choan (Chin Shuzen).
- 1800--Insurrection under Wong Kong.
- 1802-1805--Tsah Ken, a pirate, after attacking Amoy plundered Tamsui, Rokko, Tainan, and Hozan.
- 1807--Tsu Pun, a pirate, invaded Giran.
- 1810--Insurrection under Hupeh.
- 1811--Insurrection at Taihoku under Ko Kwat.
- 1822--Insurrection under Lin Yong-chun.
- 1832--Insurrection under Chang Bien of Kagi.
- 1853--Insurrection at Giran, led by Otaii and Lin Wan-yung.
- 1853--Insurrection at Hozan, led by Lin Kung.

[continued on p. 5]

Foreigners have been immigrating into Formosa since pre-historic times. The aboriginal tribes still inhabiting the central mountain ranges are of Malayan origin, like the natives of the Philippine Islands to the south. From the Asiatic mainland, the Chinese have been coming to Taiwan since the seventh century A.D.¹ From the north via the Ryukyu Islands, the Japanese have traded there for almost as long a time.

With the extension of seapower in the fifteenth century, the Far East was made accessible to the Western Nations. The first Europeans to come in contact with the island were Portuguese sailors who first saw and named it in the middle of the sixteenth century. The Dutch established trading posts there in 1624 after they had failed in an attempt to wrest Macao from the Portuguese² and had been forbidden to settle on the Pescadores by the Chinese, on pain of exclusion from trade with the Empire.³ The Spanish, in the Philippines at this time, realizing the control which a stronghold on Formosa could exercise over their valuable China trade, attempted to colonize the northern portion of the island, in 1630, and to neutralize the Dutch positions on the southwest coast. The Manila government was not willing to give

1854--Insurrection at Kagi, under Lai Tsiah.

1855--Insurrection led by Lin Fang, and Wang Biaig.

1861--Insurrection at Shoka, led by Tawan Sang, lasted three years.

1872--Insurrection led by Liao Yofu.

1888--Insurrection at Shoka, led by Su Gyudwan.

Yosaburo Takekoshi, Japanese Rule in Formosa, trans. George Braithwaite (London: Longmans Green and Co., 1907), pp. 75-76.

¹Ta Chen, "Chinese in Formosa," Chinese Migrations, with Special Reference to Labor Conditions, U. S. Dept. of Labor Bureau of Labor Statistics, Bul. No. 340 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1923), p. 40.

²Andrew Ljungstedt, An Historical Sketch of the Portuguese Settlements in China (Boston: James Munroe and Co., 1836), pp. 33, 73-74.

³George Phillips, Dutch Trade in Formosa in 1629 (Shanghai: "Celestial Empire" Office, [ca. 1878]), pp. 9, 16.

the colony strong military support, however, and in 1642 the Dutch succeeded in driving the Spanish out.¹

Chinese pirates had long used the island as a retreat, and had established a rough government over their settlements. When China was invaded by the Tartars, or Manchus--who in 1644 overcame the Ming dynasty--these settlements were vastly enlarged by Ming refugees. Koxinga, a wealthy merchant and warrior-chief of a once-piratical host, opposed the Manchus vigorously, but was eventually forced to retire to Formosa, where he established an independent kingdom in 1662, having driven out the Dutch. His grandson was at last obliged to submit to the Manchus in 1683.²

Meanwhile, the British East India Company had, during the early 1870's, established a factory at the old Dutch settlement of Zeelandia on the west coast of the island, and another at Amoy on the mainland. But in 1684, after the Manchus had established their rule over these areas, the British withdrew.³

The Manchus' rigid policy of restricting trade to the port of Canton kept Formosa effectively closed to foreigners during the eighteenth century. One of the few who visited the island was Count Mauritius de Benyowski, a renegade Hungarian nobleman who stole a Russian ship on the Kamchatka Peninsula, in which he and his cohort sailed down the Asiatic coast, stopping at Formosa in August, 1771. He has left a highly unreliable record of his experiences in his memoirs.⁴

¹James Wheeler Davidson, The Island of Formosa, Past and Present (New York: Macmillan and Co., 1903), pp. 20-23.

²Ibid., pp. 8, 30-62.

³M. Paske-Smith, Western Barbarians in Japan and Formosa in Tokugawa Days, 1603-1868 (Kobe: J. L. Thompson and Co. [ca. 1930]), pp. 85-122.

⁴Ibid., p. 127. An edition of Benyowski's memoirs with critical editing by Capt. Pasfield Oliver was published in 1893.

Nineteenth century Formosa--a land of shipwreck and disaster.--Formosa in the nineteenth century was responsible for some of the most lurid pages in the history of the Far East. A combination of excessively treacherous ocean currents and wayward, unpredictable winds in the vicinity of the island created a veritable trap for sailing vessels.¹ The appalling cruelty and sadistic barbarity of the inhabitants, both Chinese and aboriginal, exhibited in the wholesale slaughter of shipwreck survivors, made Formosa a notorious and dreaded place in shipping circles.

A particularly infamous example of Formosan "charity" to castaways was the fate suffered by the survivors of the British ships "Nerbudda" and "Ann," which were wrecked on the northwest coast of the island in September, 1841, and March, 1842.² The first of these was a British transport, loaded with British Indian natives. As soon as it struck a reef, near Keelung, all the Europeans on board, including the crew, deserted the ship in the lifeboats, and left the Indians, some 240 of them, to their fate. They stayed by the boat for five days at the end of which time it floated free of the reef, and drifted into the harbor at Keelung. Making use of all available material on board, the Indians put together rafts on which they attempted to reach shore. The Chinese inhabitants either shot them down as they arrived or rounded them up as prisoners, stripped them of most of their clothing and all their possessions, and imprisoned them in small groups, heavily

¹As accurate records were not kept, a list of shipwrecks on the island before 1850 is not available. For an account of thirty-three wrecks in the years 1850-1869 see Davidson, The Island of Formosa, Past and Present, pp. 180-182.

²Sir Henry Pottinger, Proclamations to the British and the Chinese of Nov. 21, 26, and 27, 1842, Chinese Repository (Canton: Printed for the Proprietors, 1842), Vol. XI, No. 12, pp. 682-685.

See also Davidson, op. cit., pp. 103-109, and Takekoshi, op. cit., pp. 75-76.

weighted down with irons, with little food or clothing, for about eleven months, when they were removed to Tainan and re-imprisoned there. Many of their number died under this harsh treatment.

The brig "Ann," which was wrecked southwest of Tamsui, contained Europeans, Americans, Chinese, British Indians, Portuguese, and Malaysians. The survivors, probably all those on board as the ship was driven ashore, high and dry, were herded together by the Chinese soldiers, stripped naked, and marched over a hundred miles to Tainan, in the process of which many died from exposure and cold. There they were confined with the survivors of the "Nerbudda" until the following August.

On August 13th, 1842, with the exception of a few of the more important prisoners who had been set aside to be taken to Peking, they were all removed from their prisons and marched to a parade ground near the city. There, with efficiency and despatch, they were neatly beheaded. This was a mass execution of about 197 men, several of them Europeans, and most of them British subjects!¹

In 1850, the ship "Larpernt" was wrecked off the island. The next year, three of the survivors succeeded in escaping from Formosa in a boat which was picked up by a passing vessel. The story they told was one of slavery and hardship. Of those who had not gone down with the ship, several were killed when they attempted to land on the island, and others were captured by the natives and sold into bondage. Sir Harry Parkes subsequently visited the island to inquire after further survivors, but he was

¹This execution brought forth the Pottinger proclamations cited above. For pictures of the building used to imprison these people and the parade ground, which was the site of their execution, see W. A. Pickering, Pioneering in Formosa (London: Hurst and Blackett, Ltd., 1898), pp. 46-47.

able to find little of importance.¹

Members of the Perry expedition visit Formosa.-- In the interval between his first and second visits to Japan, Commodore Perry took his expedition to China. He despatched the "Macedonian" and the "Supply" to visit Formosa, which they did in the summer of 1854. The result of this visit, and its success in finding coal on the island, was that Perry recommended in his official report that the United States annex Formosa!²

One of the purposes of the Perry expedition in the Far East was to find coal suitable for steamship use. Formosa was in a good location for a coaling station and very little was known about what was on the island. In addition, Americans had been agitating for some sort of investigation of the fate of shipwrecked sailors. So Perry ordered the two ships to investigate the situation.

The "Macedonian" arrived in Keelung on July 11th. While in that part, Captain Abbot made a cursory investigation for shipwreck survivors consisting of an inquiry conducted through the medium of his Chinese servant. How Captain Abbot could have expected to find out anything at all in this manner is not understandable. Most of the shipwrecks took place on the southern coasts of the island, two hundred miles away, in territory which was not under Chinese jurisdiction, and there was practically no

¹Takekoshi, op. cit., pp. 75-76. See also Davidson, op. cit., pp. 111-113.

²Francis L. Hawks, Narrative of the Expedition of an American Squadron to the China Seas and Japan Under the Command of Commodore M. C. Perry of the United States Navy by Order of the Government of the United States (Washington: A.O.P. Nicholson, Printer, 1856), Vol. II, pp. 180-181.

For an independent account by one of Perry's officers of the visit to Formosa see Shio Sakanishi (ed.), A Private Journal of John Glendy Sproston, U. S. N. (Tokyo: Sophia University, 1940), pp. 63-76.

communication between even the northern and southern parts of the Chinese controlled area.¹

Keelung did prove, however, to be an excellent location from which to investigate coal. In the hills surrounding the town were many mines conveniently located for transportation on board ship. A considerable quantity of coal was collected and loaded on board the "Supply." This proved, on analysis, to be of good quality for boiler use.²

As the expedition remained at Kelung until the end of July, time was found to chart the harbor in a detailed and accurate manner.³

A few years later, in support of Commodore Perry's suggestion of annexation, Townsend Harris, the first American Minister to Japan, prepared a report advocating purchase of the island by the United States. The coming of the Civil War prevented the proposal from receiving serious consideration.⁴

Treaty ports open the island to foreign trade.--The treaties of Tientsin and Peking, in 1858 and 1860, opened the island to foreign trade by making Tainan and Tamsui treaty ports. Subsequently, the port of Takao was opened as a dependency to Tainan and that of Keelung to serve Tamsui. The principal office in the north was established at Tamsui, and, in the south, the main office was at Takao.⁵

¹Davidson, op. cit., pp. 113-114.

²Hawks, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 167.

³Ibid., Appendix, p. 154.

⁴Tyler Dennet, Americans in Eastern Asia (New York: Barnes and Noble, Inc., 1941), p. 349.

⁵Article XI, British Treaty, opens "Taiwau (Formosa)" [sic] and Article IX authorizes the travel of British subjects under passes issued by the consul and signed by local authorities--Lewis